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Mid-career education of local city administrators is necessary to meet complex and changing urban needs, and to make intelligent use of available technicians and specialists. The National Institute for Public Affairs sponsored three studies of such educational need in Detroit, Berkeley, and Syracuse, which resulted in the philosophy that mid-career programs should provide a general and interdisciplinary approach for understanding of the metropolitan community. The Syracuse University program conducted in 1967, and repeated in 1968, was attended by 45 public administrators from five upstate metropolitan areas. The program was conducted over a four-month period, involving two one-week in-residence training periods at both ends of the session. The first phase consisted of lectures, discussions, and workshops in preparation for analysis of the metropolitan area, which occupied the following two months. The resulting papers were discussed in the last residential week. (A brief description of a proposed year-long mid-career program for government officials and key private citizens developed by Syracuse's Dean Stephen Bailey is presented, also comments on appropriate mid-career curriculum, instructional methods, participants, and financing.) (pt)

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"Mid-Career Education for Urban Administrators: Patterns and Potential"

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In 1967, speaking at the first Syracuse University program of Mid-Career Education for the Local Public Service, Dean Stephen K. Bailey suggested that if federalism is to be creative, rather than restrictive we must have "rededicated and re-educated leadership." To obtain this kind of leadership from our public officials, Dean Bailey suggested greater opportunities for mid-career educational experiences. He pointed out: "it is so easy to get into ruts in handling the day-to-day minutia of administration. Administrators need to campaign for educational leaves which will permit key personnel to recharge their batteries, to extend their sense of relevance, and to get a new picture of what changes are both possible and desirable in their various fields of endeavor."

During the past few years, federal government agencies and many professional and business groups have recognized the need for mid-career or post-entry education. The subject has also received much attention from scholars, especially in the field of public administration. The number and variety of special programs for federal government personnel has increased markedly in recent years, as noted in the survey of "University - Sponsored Executive Development Programs in the Public Service" compiled by Ward Stewart and John Honey.

Unfortunately, however, comparatively little attention or effort has been devoted to similar programming for mid-career personnel in the local

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public service. Considering the impressive and deeply disturbing evidence accumulated on the urgent and complex problems facing urban administrators, the scarcity of mid-career programming for such personnel might seem surprising as well as unfortunate. In recent years, leading members of this Association have deplored the lack of emphasis on preparation for or assistance to those responsible for the conduct of urban affairs.

The Challenge for Mid-Career Programming

Perhaps the first thing to be said about mid-career education for those in the local public service is that it is a new and highly experimental enterprise. That might be one of the very few things to be said about the field with any degree of confidence - that and the obvious need for such education. It is important to recognize the newness and experimental nature. There must be room for all varieties of approach and format, for educational entrepreneurs of all sorts, if the concept and methodology are to develop into activities commensurate in any degree with the urgent need. The most imaginative and innovative talents in the social sciences, public administration and continuing education must be combined to produce the kind of broadening, practical and exciting learning experiences demanded by the nature of the urban situation and the personnel to be involved.

The magnitude of the urban public enterprise, its increasing complexity and quality of continuous change should make this a prime target for post-entry training proposals by the nation's leading universities. At no other level of public responsibility are the challenges and burdens so constantly urgent and difficult. The list of large-scale and long- range problems added to the daily routines of local administration would seem to demand ideal combinations of knowledges, skills and

personal attributes quite unrealistic and unlikely considering the traditions and attractiveness of the local public service in this country.

Almost any set of statistics relating to the American domestic scene illustrates the plight of the urban administrator - and suggests curricula for mid-career training programs. As examples, we might cite the number of people living in urban areas; the age, racial, educational and economic characteristics of such concentrations; the rapidly increasing level of local government employment; the fantastic growth of local expenditures and the complications accompanying the mix of local, state and federal funds expended in the urban community; the stark contrasts between central city conditions, needs and resources and those of the surrounding urbanized areas; the mushrooming demands and needs for public services in urban communities as contrasted with restrictive levels of traditional financing for such services; the new dimensions of interrelationships characterizing urban problems; and the rapidly changing knowledge available for attacking urban problems.

The modern urban administrator might long nostalgically for the days when he could count on his own knowledge, the abilities of his staff and possibly the advice of a few like-minded citizens to reach viable decisions. One of the major problems, of course, is to re-educate these administrators as to the changed conditions of political and social viability in today's urban setting. The daily routine of the Commissioner of Public Works, for example, finds him meeting with members of the Human Rights Commission to work out means for collecting garbage more frequently in high population density, poor areas of the city. What about the better-off parts of the city where collections are less needed but where residents

know how to complain more effectively? The Chief of Police spends long hours meeting with citizens he might once have considered the "enemy" - former drug addicts, for example, who want freedom from the police to work with juvenile drug users.

The Superintendent of Schools goes to meetings every night and early in the morning, to listen to every variety of suggestion as to how the schools can be more relevant to the problems and needs of today's city population. The Commissioner of Transportation struggles for months to find ways to overcome the effects of state or federal highway construction making madness of his downtown traffic patterns. The Urban Renewal administrator searches for new combinations or approaches to balance conflicting interests of central city rejuvenation and practical assistance to the disadvantaged, while trying to involve all. The Welfare Commissioner spends much of his time meeting with representatives of the militant poor on schemes to withhold rents from slumlords or various compaigns to stretch the meager welfare dollars. The Mayor and his Council are preoccupied in efforts to understand, interpret, conciliate, accommodate and make effective use of a constantly expanding complex of legislation and programs related to the urban condition.

At a conference in 1967 sponsored by the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Harlan Cleveland summarized some of the significance of these changing requirements and relationships. "In every community, and notably in the metropolitan areas, a new pattern of leadership now spreads the power to affect the community's destiny, breaking the leadership monopolies traditionally held by businessmen, business lawyers, and early-arriving ethnic groups. In the new competition for influence, any group can play; the ticket of admission for its leaders or hired professionals is now skill in organization and a working knowledge of inter-governmental complexity.

For every decision is shared with other groups, and every major improvement - a new hospital, a downtown plaza, a poverty program, a community college, a metropolitan water plan, or whatever- involves the creative manipulation of multiple public authorities " Cleveland noted the revolutionary change in administration "away from the more formal, hierarchical, order-giving way of doing business and toward the more informal, fluid workways of bargaining, brokerage, advice, and consent." [1]

Responding to Ambassador Cleveland's analysis, Arthur Naftalin characterized the effective administrator as "something of a political broker, one who relates and organizes the needed specialties in a horizontal sharing of power, in contrast to the public executive who, in a less complex time, administered by sending his orders vertically down the organizational pyramid." The modern public official, according to Mayor Naftalin has a new role, new function, new style. "It is a role of co-ordinating, directing, organizing, and leading in the midst of increasing complexity; it is a function of fashioning appropriately new and adaptable instruments for executing policy and its style, of necessity, is one that is democratic in spirit, low-key in manner, and respectful of knowledge and capability. Because knowledge is specialized and therefore diffused, power is diffused, and the public executive must know how to organize the diffusion." [2]

There are other indicators of the need for and the nature of mid-career educational experiences for those in the local public service. There is the very difficult and new problem of how best to make use of the technicians, the

1. Quoted in Theory and Practice of Public Administration: Scope, Objectives, and Methods. The American Academy of Political and Social Science, October 1968 pp.167-168
2 Ibid p. 180

specialists, the mechanisms of modern decision-making without becoming servant to or victim of this instrumentalism The modern urban administrator must be knowledgeable enough to recognize implications, applications and limitations of the specialist's work

While making use of the sometimes frightening proliferation of highly specialized technicians and their amazing tools, the administrator needs to be reminded that in the final analysis - as Harlan Cleveland phrased it - "for making the choices and taking the chances just ahead, every public executive will be more dependent on his personal moral gyroscope - his own ethical hunch - than ever before " The nature of our times requires the urban administrator to be concerned about values and goals, about man's potential growth, about philosophical ends. He is daily immersed in "people problems" demanding that he combine within himself a wide-ranging knowledge of the resources available for tackling public problems, analytic and judgmental ability in the application of the tools, and a reflective, moral concern and approach to his responsibility.

What Kind of Mid-Career Education?

The implications of these kinds of requirements for the training of local public officials have been explored more frequently since 1965 In that year, the whole concept and need for mid-career education for public administrators working at the local level received new and continuing attention through three studies sponsored by the National Institute for Public Affairs. In the Detroit area, the Metropolitan Fund in cooperation with several universities there, prepared a study of needs in the Detroit region and proposed a plan for Mid-Career education for local and state government officials. At Berkeley, the University of California developed

another approach to the problem of meeting the continuing educational needs of administrators at work on local problems. In Syracuse, the Maxwell Graduate School provided a third analysis of needs and possible programs in the field of mid-career education for the local public service.[3.]

In each of these studies and in most of the subsequent discussions on this subject, the question of proper emphasis of content has received much attention. In large measure, students of this relatively new field in continuing education have argued for programs designed to produce administrative generalists, broad-gauged executives, men and women capable of recognizing the interdisciplinary character of urban conditions and problems and the implications for attacking such problems. In view of the rapid change factor in urban affairs and the complex and interrelated nature of urban problems, there has been much criticism of highly specialized and traditionally compartmentalized education and training for local public administrators.

Yet, the United States Office of Education has found relatively few mid-career programs designed to broaden personal and social horizons or to create broad-gauged public executives. For the vast majority of administrative and professional personnel working at the local level, there are no training opportunities of any kind available. In 1967, the International City Managers' Association found only 27% of 1,165 cities providing or

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3. Copies of the NIPA reports can be obtained from the authors or editors of each.

Frederick C. Mosher, A Proposed Program of Mid-Career Education for Public Administrators in Metropolitan Areas. Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

L. L. Smith, ed., Mid-Career Education for the Local Public Service. Continuing Education Center, Syracuse University, 110 Roney Lane, Syracuse, New York

Norman Wengert, ed., Regional Mid-Career Education. Metropolitan Fund, Inc., 1 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

making available any kind of training for such personnel Most programs for local government personnel seem to be aimed at police, firemen or office workers. The Municipal Manpower Commission's Report on Governmental Manpower for Tomorrow's Cities (1962) noted that many cities would soon be in serious trouble since the high quality managers recruited during the depression would be retiring and local governments were making feeble efforts to recruit college graduates or up-grade new personnel.

Even when training opportunities have been available and encouraged, an additional complication has been the professional needs as perceived by administrators themselves. All too often, as universities have developed special programs to prepare public administrators for more general and larger executive responsibility, the interest of both sponsors and potential participants has been quite disappointing. In a 1967 study of "Educational Needs of Managers and Supervisors in Cities, Boroughs, and Townships in Pennsylvania," the majority of managers expressed most interest in Management Development, Public Relations, Effective Communication and Budget Administration. On the other hand, the managers thought that their supervisors should have training in subjects such as Effective Utilization of Manpower Resources, Improved Decision-Making with Individuals, Creativity and Innovation, Supervisory Training and Development. Some of the interesting subjects selected least often by the managers included Impact of Science and Technology on Government Management, Impact of Federal and State Government Legislation and Controls on State and Local Activities, Creativity and Innovation, Impact of Citizen Behavior on Government Service Demands, Social and Cultural Trends and Their Impact on Government Management, Sociology of Bureaucracy, Economic Analysis, Regional Develop-

ment and Economic Growth, Administrative Planning and Analysis.

In the Detroit NIPA study, somewhat similar reactions were obtained. Decision-makers (public officials) and potential mid-career program participants were interviewed. In both cases, the concept of a general, broadening kind of continuing education was not favored. Most popular subjects suggested for mid-career training included Computer Utilization, Public Relations, Finance Administration, Personnel Administration, Public Administration, Management Techniques, Municipal Law.

In spite of this kind of evidence and the obvious emphasis on techniques and"how to" in most local government training programs, major university proposals insist on the primary importance of broadening perspectives beyond the specialty and the technical aspects of management There is also considerable evidence of organizers of continuing education programs that many public administrators feel strongly the need to know more about the city in an all-inclusive way, its cultures and our urban society in general.

A Syracuse Experiment

Reactions from participants in Syracuse University's two experimental Mid-Career Programs for the Local Public Service illustrate the recognized value of a general, mind-stretching experience. In 1967, Syracuse's Continuing Education Center for the Public Service and the Metropolitan Studies Program of the Maxwell Graduate School conducted a mid-career program for 45 public administrators from five upstate New York metropolitan areas. Objectives were stated as "improving understanding of social, political and economic characteristics of our urban society; generalizing and making more realistic understanding of complex factors characterizing

decision-making and the conduct of public affairs in the modern city; improving understanding of how a metropolitan area's characteristics affect conduct of specific functions; providing skills for the analysis of major characteristics of a metropolitan area." The program was conducted over a four-month period, involving two one-week periods of in-residence training at Syracuse, at the beginning and at the conclusion of the program. Participants represented the Binghamton, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse and Utica metropolitan areas. Positions held by participants included Chairman of a Board of Supervisors, Mayor of a small suburban city, City Engineer, Director of Planning, director of a development foundation, Comptroller, Assistant Corporation Counsel, County Clerk, Assistant Director of Public Works, Town Supervisor, Deputy Chief of Police and Fire Chief, Budget Analyst, Welfare Supervisor for the State, Postmaster, Supervisor of Personnel for Public Schools.

The first phase of the program consisted of a week of lectures, discussions and work group practice sessions to prepare participants for the analysis of a metropolitan area - its governmental structure, socio-economic characteristics and decision - making processes. Participants prepared outlines as guides for team research projects to be conducted in their own metropolitan areas. The second phase of the program occupied the following two months. With the guidance of graduate research assistants from the Maxwell School, participants organized studies, collected data and prepared "Metropolitan Profiles" on the history, characteristics and problems of their area. The final documents were most impressive, averaging about 100 pages, representing a very significant investment of time, energy and thought on the part of busy professional administrators.

The last phase of the program brought all participants back to Syracuse for a week of reports and critiques on the "Metropolitan Profiles," lectures and discussions on major public policy issues facing urban administrators. The evaluations offered by the 45 participants in this project were enthusiastic and gratifying to its planners. Typical reactions included:

> "the two sessions did a great deal to broaden my outlook, improve my capacity for digesting and using fresh ideas;"
>
> "the stimulation of a rusty mind which had forgotten what note-taking and analyzing were all about;"
>
> "there is no doubt in my mind that future decisions will be influenced by what took place in Syracuse "
>
> "I was made more aware of the inter-dependent social, political, and economic factors which influence and create the complex problems faced in our metropolitan area;"
>
> "one result of the program will be a 'Community Planning' workshop with objectives of providing a springboard to other 'communication-encouraging' programs "

Of considerable interest also were the reactions of faculty and graduate assistants. Many of the latter considered this the most valuable and exciting experience in their graduate education. Many faculty rated the program as one of the most satisfying academic experiences of many years.[4]

An adaptation of this program, benefitting from the previous experience, was conducted in 1968, involving most of the same jurisdictions. Reactions of participant administrators were again very favorable. The mixture of specialists and technical personnel from various parts of the State, living and learning together for two weeks, was one obvious ingredient of success in these programs. A second was the excitement of excellent teaching and intensive, personal communication with academic scholars. The contagious

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4 Complete reports on the 1967 and 1968 Mid-Career Programs for the Local Public Service are available from the CECPS, 110 Roney Lane, Syracuse, New York.

interest of many different viewpoints expressed on concepts and situations of common concern to all citizens was another factor accounting for success. The"back-home" assignment involving team work in sophisticated analysis of the metropolitan area provided a practical and lasting reinforcement of the formal learning sessions This latter element probably has important implications for mid-career education, some of which will be mentioned later in this paper.

Other Proposals

The recommendations resulting from the NIPA study conducted by Frederick Mosher at the University of California incorporated many of the same ideas as those reflected in the Syracuse project Professor Mosher suggested as an important ingredient for the California program the bringing together of officials from many different types and levels of public jurisdictions, increasing their understanding of one another and their perspectives on urban problems. Recognizing that most public administrators at all levels have had a highly specialized, technical kind of education and preparation (most manpower studies and the NIPA studies have illustrated this condition), the California proposal emphasized inter-disciplinary approaches to subjects such as Competing Values and Goals in an Urban Society, Economic Analysis for Urban Development Decisions, Social Problems of the Metropolitan Community, Political Focus in the Region, Governmental Organizations and Administration in Metropolitan Communities, Financing of Public Programs and Decision-Making in the City of the Future.

Students in the California proposal would be involved in practical group study and recommendations bearing on problems such as the poverty cycle, race relations, incidence of crime, mass transit and environmental pollution

They would be encouraged to see themselves as planners and promoters of social change, rather than reactors to change. Professor Mosher has designed a program of preparation for leaders in metropolitan areas to promote a"broader understanding of the nature of the problems which beset them and a bolder perspective on their roles in planning and bringing about constructive change." Finally, as in all of the NIPA reports, there is emphasis on separate and specially designed educational experiences for the mid-career official. Neither the situation of the administrator (including available time, age, and psychological considerations) nor the normal routines and requirements of the university make it possible or desireable to incorporate mid-career education into the regular university schedule.

The Detroit NIPA study, while not providing as specific curricula as California or Syracuse, emphasized the same general concepts. The social sciences were viewed as the most appropriate and effective subject matter for mid-career education, especially since they "are well suited to the task of providing insights into value conflicts and to encouraging a critical questioning of one's own assumptions." Four of the topics suggested as organizing ideas in the Detroit plan were Minority Relations, Resource Allocations, Urban Renewal and Political Reorganization.

Like the California and Detroit reports, the Syracuse recommendations centered on an improved understanding of the metropolitan community. Professor Victor Thompson, who did most of the research and writing for the Syracuse NIPA study, saw the major deficiency of local government officials as a lack of understanding of community and of the bureaucracy hindering solution of metropolitan problems. "Top local officials need to understand the systemic nature of the environment with which they work, the inter-

relatedness of all of its parts. They need to see and understand the local community as a system with many sub-systems." To provide this kind of understanding, Thompson recommended a program built around four general perspectives: Economic, Ecological or Sociological, Political and Bureaucratic. Mid-career programs and even up-dating professional courses should be designed within these four perspectives.

In an effort to elaborate this concept into a specific academic proposal, Dean Stephen Bailey developed an unusual and imaginative plan of mid-career education for government officials and certain key private citizens in the metropolitan areas of the entire Northeast. This plan has important implications regarding subject matter, method, approaches and timing for mid-career education which deserve special attention here.

To make a significant impact on the management of urban affairs in the North-east region, the plan provides for a year-long program involving 370 officials and private citizens from 24 SMSA's in the region. The program requires the active cooperation of all major colleges and universities in the region, which could be divided into eight sub-regions. Each sub-region would have one university area center, the eight centers composing a Coordinating Council for the region. One of the eight centers would serve as the secretariat for the entire project.

The program would last one year, but only 20 days would be required away from the job -- one period of 10 days residential training at the beginning and one at the end of the year. Other sessions would be scheduled one evening or late afternoon each week at a school in or near each SMSA. The opening and closing residential blocks would be conducted at one

university center in each of the eight areas. This arrangement would help resolve one major problem noted in most studies of post-entry educational opportunities -- the difficulty in providing long periods of time away from the job for busy local officials, representing departments almost always short of personnel.

Participants in the project should include a mixture of locally-based Federal officials (e.g. H. E. W., Defense, Commerce, Labor, Agriculture, O.E.O.), locally-based State officials, county and special district officials, major city department heads and private citizens including chambers of commerce, community chest, newspapers, and development agencies. Subject matter emphasis would cover at least four areas: Political Fragmentation and Democratic Theory, Public Finance and Resource Allocation, Bureaucratic Dilemmas, and Ecology of the Urban Community.

As in most proposals for mid-career programs, this plan requires the commitment and cooperation of each university's better teachers, those whose scholarship commands respect and whose teaching interest and ability make them effective communicators with adults. Practitioners in key fields of federal, state and private programs would also be involved as guest lecturers. Variation in pedagogical technique has also been stressed in this proposal, as in the California and Detroit reports. Dean Bailey has suggested the use of syndicates, role-playing, case studies, field trips, supervised reading and report-writing as well as lectures and class discussions.

The factor of greatest variation in the mid-career education proposals is the cost. Dean Bailey's year-long plan might cost $900,000, including all administrative and planning items for all university centers, all

tuition and travel expenses for field trips. The cost per trainee would be approximately $2,700. Professor Mosher's estimate on the cost of California's proposal for a special program of six months, including administration, teaching, supplies and expenses and other items, totaled $141,000, or $4,700. per participant. The experimental programs conducted by the Continuing Education Center at Syracuse each cost approximately $30,000. or $750. per person. Expenses obviously vary greatly depending on length of program, number of participants, intensity of instructional schedule and a number of incidental factors which may or may not be added to enrich a program (e. g., field trips).

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Characteristics for Mid-Career Programming

From these various studies and proposals there seem to emerge some common, distinguishable suggestions or directions for the kind of mid-career education needed by today's urban administrator. There is widespread agreement that the curriculum most appropriate and effective for such mid-career programs should be derived from the various Social Science disciplines. The ideas in the program should be woven together from the Social Science specialties in an inter-disciplinary manner, not presented as traditional courses or parts of courses in Sociology or Economics or Political Science. The academic insights should be combined in a focus on the nature of the metropolitan community and its problems. The infusion of broadening perspectives should provide fresh and more relevant approaches to the bewildering complex of problems facing urban administra-

tors, most of whom were prepared for their specialized positions ten or twenty years ago.

In regard to instructional methods, there is major emphasis on the use of a variety of approaches, including involvement - type techniques related to the examination of value assumptions and personal perspectives. The value of interim, back-home assignments, requiring the practical application of classroom learning to the real and urgent situation, should be incorporated whenever possible. This type of exercise is especially useful in creating a team work, inter-functional relationship at the local level, and in providing a lasting, reinforcing effect to academic lessons. The technique has been adapted successfully to a number of quite different training programs for professional personnel by the Continuing Education Center at Syracuse. In this connection, it should be pointed out that one of the most hopeful developments related to mid-career education for the public service is the experimentation and programmatic innovation taking place in university continuing education. The entire tradition and character of continuing education in urban universities make this division a valuable partner for urban studies operations in creating and conducting special programs for urban administrators. One much-needed result of such collaboration ought to be more sophisticated and effective evaluations of approaches and techniques. No one seems to have had the time or skill or funds to investigate how effective various programs or methods have been in the past.

The use of a "back-home" assignment relates to the factor of time available for post-entry education. It is widely recognized that very few administrators working at the local level can undertake long-term educational programs. Departments are short-handed and training budgets are limited.

It is most unlikely that mid-career programs requiring extensive time away from the job can be successful. A residential experience of two weeks is probably the maximum which could be scheduled at any given time. This kind of intensive experience can be built upon and extended through "back-home" assignments and regular once-a-week sessions such as mentioned in the Bailey proposal.

The "target audience"for such mid-career programs should represent a mixture of administrative personnel from all jurisdictional levels and functions related to public policy planning and implementation in the metropolitan area. This would include federal and state administrators working at the local level, as well as city, county, special district and key private groups. The mixture becomes more and more critical as the complexity of problems and inter-relationships and potential solutions increase.

Finally, in regard to financing mid-career programs for the local public service, all of the imaginative, far-reaching proposals which might make some difference will require some form of external funding. Although decision-making officials in the Detroit study and other authorities in some urban areas have indicated willingness to pay for post-entry education, this usually means an in-service, short-term, more specialized type of experience. The in-residence, more intensive and complex learning experience necessary for creating any effect on the conduct of urban affairs requires funding well beyond the resources normally available to local jurisdictions. Considering the well-documented need for mid-career programs on a very large scale to help solve the urgent

problems of urban America, there must be a dramatic expansion of Federal funding of a different dimension than the tentative and meager beginnings suggested by current H. U. D. and H. E. W. programs. Ideally - and it must not yet be too late for ideals -- a relatively minor expenditure of the nation's resources will enable our universities to be effective in creating an urban civilization relevant and worthy for our time -- by lifting and enlarging the moral committment, professional knowledge and imagination of those charged with special responsibility for the quality of urban society.

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